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INTER-ASIAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NEWS ACCORD WITH 'PTI'-Sri Lanka's national news agency LANKAPUWATH signed an agreement with Indian news agency PTI on 12 April providing for the exchange of news, feature and technical facilities. LANKAPUWATH news agency has already signed agreements with TANJUG, AFP, the INTERPRESS SERVICES and NOTIMEX news agency of Mexico. [BK140439 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 13 Apr 81]

CSO: 4220

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA—Canberra, 25 Mar (AFP)—A former director general of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), Mr Peter Barbour, 55, was today named as Australian ambassador to Venezuela. The foreign minister, Mr Tony Street, said Mr Barbour, who has been consul general in Los Angeles since 1978, would succeed Mr Alan Brown. Mr Barbour, who joined ASIO in 1951 and was director general between 1970 and 1975, left the Australian counter-intelligence body in 1975 after a disagreement with the then labor prime minister, Mr Gough Whitlam. Mr Whitlam posted Mr Barbour as consul general in New York. Mr Barbour, who is a graduate of Melbourne University, is making way in Los Angeles for a former federal government minister, Mr John McLeay, who was recently appointed consul general there. [Text] [Hong Kong AFP in English 0613 GMT 25 Mar 81 OW]

ENVOY TO SINGAPORE—Canberra, 24 Mar (AFP)—The appointment of Mr Tim McDonald as Australia's high commissioner to Singapore to succeed Mr Geoffrey Price was announced today by the foreign minister, Mr Tony Street. Mr Street said that the longstanding and diverse links between the two countries were reflected in the high priority Australia attached to its relations with Singapore. The two countries shared a wide range of common interests in the region and their association within the Commonwealth and elsewhere was highly valued by Australia, he said. The minister added that Australia looked forward to a continuation of these close links and the mutual cooperation which underpinned them. Mr McDonald, 48, joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1959. He served in Paris, New Delhi and London prior to being appointed high commissioner to Bangladesh. His most recent appointment was first assistant secretary in charge of the department's management and foreign service division. He is married with three children. [Text] [OW241140 Hong Kong AFP in English 0605 GMT 24 Mar 81]

NEPALESE ENVOY—Royal Nepalese Ambassador to Australia Dr Badri Prasad Shrestha presented his letter of credence to Governor General of Australia Sir Zelman Cowen on 2 April reports RSS. Dr Shrestha is the resident Royal Nepalese ambassador in Tokyo. [Text] [BK080345 Katmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 3 Apr 81 p 1 BK]

CSO: 4220

BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

JAPANESE LOANS—Japan is to give Bangladesh over 1.35 billion taka as commodity and project loans. A note in this connection was signed in Dacca on 6 April.
[BK070607 Dacca Overseas Service in English 1230 GMT 6 Apr 81]

CSO: 4220

BRIEFS

COMBAT NEWS FROM MYITKYINA, KUTKAI--Combat news from areas east and northeast of Myitkyina: On 23 February, a small guerrilla unit of the People's Army conducted a mine attack against an enemy supply convoy between Myitkyina and Chipwi, destroying a vehicle and killing six enemy soldiers. On 1 March, a people's mine attack between Sailaw and (Manun) destroyed two enemy vehicles, killed one mercenary corporal, one sergeant, three other mercenaries, and wounded six. Combat news from Kutkai region: On 25 February, a small unit of the people's army ambushed a military column of the military government's mercenary 109th Light Infantry Regiment between (Monyu Tonlun) and (Tansin). The ambush killed three enemy soldiers and wounded three. On 2 March, a small unit of the people's army attacked a military column of the military government's mercenary 3d infantry regiment near (Loi Kyan Na). The attack wounded 10 enemy. [Text] [BK010810 Voice of the People of Burma (Clandestine) in Burmese to Burma 0030 GMT 1 Apr 81]

COMBAT NEWS FROM CENTRAL SHAN STATE--Combat news from the Central Shan State: On 18 February, a small unit of the People's Army attacked the military government's mercenary 81st Infantry Regiment at (Tonglau), killing four mercenaries and wounding six. On 3 and 4 March, a guerrilla attack conducted by the People's Army between (Kun Kyauk) and Namsang killed five enemies and wounded seven. On 1 and 11 February, a joint force from the People's Army and SSNLO [Shan State Nationalities Liberation Organization] conducted a guerrilla attack against the military government's mercenary 74th Infantry Regiment in Loi Mauk, killing three enemies and wounding four. On 19 and 23 February, a joint force from the People's Army and the Kayah New Land Revolutionary Council carried out a guerrilla attack on the military government's 88th Infantry Regiment in (Sein Lawng Gwin), killing seven enemies and wounding five. On 4 March, a guerrilla attack was carried out by a joint forces from the People's Army and the Kayah New Land Revolutionary Council between (Chi Pwa and Pyi Cha) in Pinlaung Township. The attack killed three enemies from the mercenary 99th Infantry Regiment and wounded four. [Text] [BK031016 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Burma in Burmese to Burma 0030 GMT 3 Apr 81]

COMBAT NEWS FROM KUTKAI REGION--Combat news from Kutkai region: On 3 March, the People's Army counterattacked the mercenaries from the 4th Chin Rifles Regiment who had come to assault the People's Army camp. Two enemy soldiers died and one was wounded in the counterattack. The enemy force fled. On 4 March, two mine attacks by small units of the People's Army near (Shata) and (Tungwo), and in (Mong Win) area killed three enemy soldiers from the military government's mercenary 4th Infantry Regiment wounded several others. On the same day, mines planted by the People's Army on (Nakyewa) Hill No 4 seriously wounded one enemy soldier. On 6 and 12 March, two enemy soldiers from the mercenary 13th Infantry Regiment were seriously wounded when they encountered mines planted on Hill No. 3 and near (Tinwai). [BK050732 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Burma in Burmese to Burma 0030 GMT 5 Apr 81]

'ISI' CARRIES GANDHI SPEECH DURING NATIONAL DEFENSE DEBATE

BK101705 Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 1607 GMT 10 Apr 81

["Text of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech in Lok Sabha on 9 April in reply to debate on the demand of grants of the Ministry of Defence"]

[Text] Parliament is the country's watchdog and this debate on the defence demands provides honourable members an opportunity to fulfil this function in a very crucial sector of our life. All sections of the House are united in their concern for the safety and integrity of our country. Many important and useful points have been made in the course of this debate as well as in the earlier debate on external affairs, for defence and external affairs are closely interrelated. In fact they are overlapping.

A special feature of our defence forces is their closeness to our social milieu. They form an integrated part of our community. We are a nation of agriculturists. It is the farmer's son who tills the land, who seeks employment in factories and who joins the defence forces. So the Jawan is very much in touch with the problems of our people. (Secondly), whenever the armed forces have been called upon to aid civil authority, whether during natural calamities such as floods or drought or in restoring supplies and services essential to the community, they have acquitted themselves with great credit. In remote and border areas, even in areas which have come under our control during war and later returned, we have found medical, health or other essential services badly lacking. Our Jawans have not hesitated in spite of their other duties to come to the relief of the local community. I congratulate our Jawans and officers all on their commendable spirit of service.

Within the constraints of the resources my government has attempted to provide as much as possible for the armed forces be it for essential modernisation or for their overall well being and rehabilitation. I take this opportunity of reiterating the commitment of the government to maintain the armed forces in a state of total preparedness which must naturally take into account not only equipment but that everything possible is done to keep at the highest level the morale of defence personnel. The discipline and the courage of our officers and Jawans are well recognised. In peacetime, when the nation's attention may not be focused on them they continue to guard our frontiers, some of them in the most trying of circumstances--inclement climate and far removed from their families or any social life. They bring dedication to their duties. I should like to convey to them on behalf of the government and on my own behalf--and I am sure the House will join me in this--our appreciation and greetings.

Of course there are problems. The forces have to be kept always in fit and fighting condition. A youthful profile has therefore to be maintained and because of this as many as 70,000 personnel are retired annually at a comparatively young age. Finding alternative occupations for them is our national responsibility. We do treat this question with a sense of urgency. A series of measures have been taken for the welfare and rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. The government have also been constantly urging upon state governments and private sector industries to keep this in mind. Ex-servicemen are disciplined and well trained and there is no reason why many of them cannot be gainfully employed in various developmental activities.

I was astounded to see that a cut motion implies a lack of national integration among our defence forces. On the contrary, they set us all a good example to us in this matter. Some cut motions ask for a substantial increase in the defence budget. While I share the concern of honourable members, I must remind them that it is not our intention to build a war machine or to compete in the arms race. Our aim is primarily to prevent others from disturbing our peace and our development. Our resources are limited. Defence is an integral and important part, and yet only one part of our national endeavour. It cannot be built at the cost of socioeconomic development, nor would it be effective without a strong economic base or a united, disciplined, contented people. In the circumstances we have made the most judicious allocation of resources for the defence sector. For the year 1980-1981 we have provided an increase of rupees 2 billion over sanction in the budget estimates and for the year 1981-1982 we have proposed a marginal increase raising the total defence budget to rupees 42 billion. This increase takes into account the rise in the cost of equipment and in the provisions for pay for allowances and for pensionary benefits.

A percentage of gross national products our expenditures in defence is one of the lowest in the world. In 1979 it was: 3.9; U.S. 5.2; USSR 11.13; and UK 4.9. For Pakistan it was 5.7 in 1978; later figures are not available. Similarly, our defence expenditure as a percentage of central government expenditure is also low compared to that of most countries. But we do our best that the needs of the defence services should be fully met and not suffer for shortage of funds. Our programmes to modernise all the wings of the armed forces are continuing in the perspective of the security environment of the foreseeable future. Schemes have been sanctioned to increase the firepower, the mobility and the means of communication of our army. While our efforts for indigenously developing our main battle tank are continuing we have, for the intervening period, procured a newer generation of battle tank. The air force has acquired greater punch with the introduction of MiG-23 aircraft and the Jaguar. For the navy we have embarked upon a programme of refitting older ships and obtaining general purpose frigates and minesweepers. Negotiations to procure SSK submarines have reached an advanced stage.

Self-reliance remains our guiding principle in this and in other spheres of activity. The new defence research and development department is engaged in designing and developing sophisticated equipment. We are encouraging the growth of ancillary industries around defence production establishments. Our ordnance factories are producing a wide variety of stores ranging from machineguns to bombs and anti-submarine projectiles for the three services. Some notable achievements in the production field have been the manufacture of medium machineguns fitted largely with indigenously produced components, the development of a 9mm (?auto) pistol, air field lighting equipment, etc.

The best defence is the prevention of war. That is what India has been involved in during all these years and that is the major preoccupation of our foreign policy. Since our foreign minister has dealt very lucidly and comprehensively with our thinking on these matters with our relations with other countries and especially with our neighbours as well as with recent developments in the nonalignment movement and other relevant question such as the north-south problems I need not go into these again.

There is near if not total unanimity in the world on one point. Never in the last two decades has the international outlook been as grim as it is today. This is not merely my own assessment but that of the scores of world leaders from five continents whom I have met in the past year. I am not given to alarm or exaggeration. Yet I must warn that at this time we simply cannot afford to be complacent or to set back hoping that matters will somehow be sorted out. It will take the most earnest exertion of all countries to somehow hang on to peace and to prevent the situation from exploding or drifting towards disasters. The basic responsibility for peace lies with the big powers. Their attitudes of confrontation will engulf all others. Much that happens in smaller countries is often the result of such outside manoeuvres and manipulations. Yet countries like ours, which are not big powers in military or any other sense, can and must pull their weight individually and collectively. Peace to us is vital for consolidation of our independence for the building of our economy and indeed for our very survival as nations.

There is actual fighting in more than one part of the world. Many other areas are like powder kegs ready to blow up even at the inadvertent striking of a match. The focus of the cold war has shifted from Europe to the Indian Ocean littoral. As has been said, our Southwest and Southeast Asia flanks are flash points. New armaments are being piled up in our region not only around the Indian Ocean but in a number of inland countries. We are told that the purpose of the militarisation of our area is containment of expansionism of one big power by other and on ensuring the stability of the Gulf region. In our view this policy is counterproductive. It will virtually prevent a politically negotiated settlement in Afghanistan, nor will bring peace to the Gulf and Southwest Asian region. The security of the Gulf should primarily be the responsibility of the Gulf countries themselves who should not allow external interference or pressures in the shaping of their future.

The unresolved crisis in Afghanistan and the continuing conflict in Iraq-Iran have given encouragement to the hawks of many countries. We continue to be deeply concerned that there are as yet no signs of improvement in Afghanistan. We stand firmly for the ending of all outside presences in that country and elsewhere, but it would be wrong to think that there is only one foreign intervention. Our advocacy of a political solution to this problem has assumed even greater relevance than when the trouble began because of the increasing entanglement of the big powers in this entire region. Any solution must obviously balance the views of all concerned parties.

Developments in Afghanistan have given Pakistan an excuse to demand more arms and to other countries to supply them. We are also disturbed that a mischievous campaign has been started in some quarters to suggest that Pakistan needs to be strengthened because of India's designs. This is patently ridiculous. Every

country has a duty to look after its defence. Let us remember that in the last 10 years Pakistan has doubled its defence strength. Yet we did not protest. But the present moves introduce a qualitative difference. Now Pakistan's defence seems once again to be becoming part of a larger strategic alignment stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Say of the Indian Ocean in between. [sentence as received] This is what worries us. We welcomed Pakistan's entry in to the nonaligned movement. But do their new intentions fit in with nonalignment or are they going back to their old policies? Officially Pakistan has denied that it is planning to produce nuclear weapons, but these denials have not allayed fears and suspicions anywhere in the world. In fact it is in the countries of the West that detailed accounts have been appearing about Pakistan's nuclear preparations. It should be clearly understood that Pakistan's development of nuclear bombs will have grave and irreversible consequences on our subcontinent. We have kept our eyes and ears open. We are fully aware of our responsibilities and the House can be confident that we shall respond in an appropriate way to any development. Our own policy has been to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes and we crusade for the total banning of all nuclear weapons.

The Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi has been here twice. In response to his invitation and in pursuance of the Simla agreement our foreign minister will, I hope, soon go to Islamabad. This visit will be in continuation of our patient approach in dealing with Pakistan since the Simla conference.

Some leaders of opposition parties have been pleased to say--outside the House--that India with its size need not be afraid of Pakistan. We are not afraid of Pakistan or of anyone else. Size itself is not strength--in fact without unity and discipline it can be a liability. But we do care very much for the tranquillity of our region and the stability of our neighbourhood. I had expected greater far-sightedness from such experienced leaders. We have expressed our serious misgivings directly to the U.S. Government through our ambassador and through G. Parthasarathi, who had gone to the United States on some other work, the response of the U.S. will be known by its actions. Our efforts at friendship and cooperation with the U.S. continue and will continue, but at the same time we must not ignore the realities or dangers of the unfolding situation.

India has never resorted to any step which might be taken as a threat to our neighbouring countries. Indeed we have repeatedly assured them of our policy of respect for their sovereignty and integrity. We want them to live in peace and stability. In fact, the pace of socioeconomic development in our own country is vitally linked with what happens in our neighbourhood.

Jawaharlal Nehru's words uttered 25 years ago that the cold war had come to our doorstep is true once again. Gains made through patient international diplomacy over the last 30 years have been swept away by the hot winds of belligerency. The situations in Afghanistan and the Gulf, serious as they are, are not half as menacing as the resumption of the cold war. The powerful nations of Europe and America seem to have a special flair for fighting their wars on the soils of the underdeveloped and developing countries of Asia and Africa. Added to this are the ocean waters of their region. We are alarmed at the pronouncements of some major spokesmen of the U.S. Administration which have created disquiet even amongst some of their close allies. We hope that as the government studies the complex international situation

in greater depth and with greater understanding it will appreciate the need to deescalate tensions. Experience has shown that military solutions are short-lived and give rise to new problems. Hence no opportunity for a dialogue should be missed. Proposals like those of President Brezhnev should be looked at in this context.

Big powers have primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace. But recent history has shown that the big powers do not always get their own way. Other countries can do a great deal to generate the right atmosphere and to mobilize the voices for peace.

Some have alleged our dependence on a particular country. This allegation is baseless. It shows how people, even honourable members of parliament, are influenced by the propaganda of vested interests. This is even anti-national as it reflects on the morale of our forces and our people. We have already built a strong technoeconomic base. And whenever we have had to buy equipment from abroad to keep abreast of the latest technological developments we have carefully compared the pros and cons of various offers and have decided the source of procurement only in the best interests of our country and after ascertaining the equipment most suited to our needs. Keeping in view cost effectiveness we have in our inventory equipment and materials not from one country alone but from diverse sources which include France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, the UK as well as the U.S. and USSR (and) also from some other countries. In the matter of supplies and spares no country can blackmail us in times of need.

India is not only a large land mass but comprises also a large number of islands which are strategically situated and vulnerable to external threats. Their defence is a matter of direct national concern. Foreign vessels are showing undue interest in these outlying islands and in our seas. We are taking steps to strengthen the security of those areas.

This brings me on to the large issue of the oceans around us. Our seas are vital from the point of view of security of natural resources, communications and our environment. All these years a few big powers considered oceans as their preserve. Global attempts have been made in recent years to bring about an acceptable international regime of ocean management. But even these have met with opposition and have recently received a setback. In the meantime we must be vigilant to safeguard our legitimate rights. We have been and are strengthening our coast guard organisation and new legislation is being proposed to deter poaching in our waters. A new department of ocean development is being set up and this will be followed by the establishment of an ocean commission. External threat need not always take the form of a military invasion or an attack from outside. Other subtle moves destabilise countries and damage their national fabrics. Outside elements seem to be showing a great deal of interest in fomenting fissiparous movements within our country and encouraging those who indulge in violence. Some time ago I had drawn attention to elements in the northeast which advocated secessionist tendencies. Today similar irresponsible and even more sinister claims of separate nationhood are being heard from other parts of our country—astonishingly even those parts whose sons and daughters have contributed so dedicatedly to the developing of our nation and sacrificed so much to the defence of our borders. Defence is strongly influenced by other factors. This is one of the reasons why I have kept

defence with me to forge a closer coordination and to introduce more effective institutional arrangements. Modern security implies defence plus foreign policy plus self reliant technology. It rests on the soundness of ultimate analysis; it is people who country their morale their commitment and patriotic determination [sentence as received]. An an honourable member pointed out, the Vietnamese had neither money, industrial capacity nor military equipment worth the name. People were poor and short of almost all their needs. Yet the manner in which they rallied and united matched their strength against the mightiest and prevailed is a sage of our times. Our own freedom struggle is a shining example of the power of will and perseverance.

The Indian people have these qualities in abundant measure. Let us, the political parties and others, not fail them or our defence forces.

CSO: 4220

ADVANTAGES OF EARLY NEGOTIATIONS WITH IMF TOLD

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Mar 61 p 7

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] NEW DELHI, March 26.—Talks with the International Monetary Fund on further borrowings of several billion dollars over the next few years are expected to begin when the Government takes a decision on whether the IMF's new extended fund facility should be availed of. The matter is to be considered by the Cabinet soon.

Initial soundings have already been made with the IMF on further borrowings which are needed to bolster foreign exchange reserves to avoid a shortage that may otherwise arise in the next couple of years.

What has to be decided on is whether India needs to borrow immediately from the IMF's new facility and whether the conditionality attached to EFF loans will be acceptable.

At present, despite the huge anticipated trade deficit of Rs 4,500 crores in 1960-61, the foreign exchange reserves position is not uncomfortable. The reserves stand at around Rs 4,000 crores and the annual fall in 1960-61 will not be more than Rs 600 crores after taking into account two IMF credits of Rs 515 crores.

This is mainly because net oil flows and earnings from "invisibles" particularly remittances from Indians working abroad—are running at record levels. Earnings from "invisibles" in 1960 were more than Rs 4,500 crores or almost double those in 1959. Oil flows remain nominally at the same level as in previous years, although their value in real terms is being eroded because of world inflation.

The pressure to use the EFF soon arises from the fact that the terms on which India can get the credits will be softer because the country is in a strong position for the next few years owing to the relatively large reserves. Some economists feel this is therefore, the right time to negotiate the loans.

Many developing countries such as Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Turkey have suffered because they negotiated loans from the EFF at a time when they were desperately in need of funds and their economies were in a slump. This enabled the IMF to impose tough

conditions involving changes in policy.

These were then used to force the countries to make structural adjustments in their economic policies and, in some cases, the disbursements of the credits were actually stopped because the IMF felt the Governments concerned violated the conditions on which the loans were given.

This "tough" conditionality is unlikely to be applied to India for several reasons. The main reason is that the country's foreign exchange reserves are sound and these need to be strengthened only to meet needs arising in later years.

The main drain on the reserves is on account of imports of oil, fertilizer and consumer goods like edible oil. What the IMF can seek is assurances that suitable import substitution policies will be introduced over the next few years to reduce the burden of these imports so that the balance of payments position improves. This is, in any case, the Government's policy.

In no event can the IMF seek changes in India's economic policies in the present circumstances and so early negotiations can mean that the loans can come through without imposition of the "tough" conditionality that other developing countries have been subjected to. The "tough" conditions are imposed when a country borrows from the higher tranches of its IMF quota and India has not even sought to use the first credit tranche.

India is entitled to borrow between 40% to 60% of its quota of 1,750 million special drawing rights which comes to about \$2,000 million. If the EFF is used, the loans will be disbursed in instalments and could well be stretched over a period varying from three years to 10 years.

By keeping the foreign exchange reserves at a high level and showing that the IMF considers India a suitable country to extend credits to, the country's international credit rating will also improve, although it is already good. This is important now that the Government has decided to make commercial borrowings from the world capital markets like the Euro-dollar market.

GANDHI SPEAKS AT JAIN RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] Shravanbelagola, Feb. 21 (PTI)--The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, who flew in here today to offer her prayers to the Lord Bahubali (Gomateshwara) on the eve of the "Mahamastakabhisheka" of the Jain ascetic exhorted the people to preserve and propagate the cultural heritage of ancient India, "which has stood the test of time and proved a source of inspiration in facing many ups and downs in the history."

Addressing a mammoth public meeting after showering flowers from a helicopter on the 57-foot monolith granite statue of Lord Bahubali, Mrs Gandhi said this valuable treasure of our traditions had the unique greatness of maintaining unity in diversity. As a result of this distinction, ancient Indian civilisation was still alive whereas its contemporaries had disappeared from the scene, the Prime Minister said.

Respect for all religions that preached high ideals was another unique feature of Indian civilisation, Mrs Gandhi said. She urged the people to ponder on these aspects of our cultural, religious and spiritual traditions and help in generating a climate of peace, national integrity and communal harmony.

Though culturally rich, India, had to go a long way to solve its problems in the socio-economic fields, Mrs Gandhi said. "Our greatness should not remain on the map only."

Mrs Gandhi spoke a few words in Kannada in the beginning, paying tributes to Lord Bahubali whom she described as a symbol of might, beauty and renunciation and expressing her pride in joining the multitude gathered here.

The spectacular "mahamastakabhisheka," she said, was an example of Indian traditions, particularly of the Jain religion, which had made a "tremendous contribution" to mankind.

Gandhiji was also influenced by the teachings of Jainism and he even tried to introduce them in politics, the Prime Minister said.

"We are still striving to follow this message of Gandhiji, which expected us to respect all religions and help in the uplift of the downtrodden and vulnerable sections of society."

The Karnataka chief minister, Mr R. Gundu Rao, translated the gist of Mrs Gandhi's Hindi speech into Kannada.

Earlier, Mrs Gandhi handed over a silver plated coconut to Charukeerty Bhattarak Swamy, head of the Jain mutt here, to be offered to Lord Gomateshwara on the occasion of the "mahamasthakabhisheka" tomorrow.

The Prime Minister also released a special issue of a journal, MARG, edited by Mrs Saryu Doshi, a famous Hindi literateur.

At the instance of Ailacharya Muni Vidyanand, head of Digamber Jains, she presented a sandalwood garland and a shawl to Bhattarak Swamy, who has been decorated with the title of "Paramyogi" for his meritorious services in the "mahamasthakabhisheka" celebrations.

On her arrival on the rostrum, Mrs Gandhi was greeted by Mr S. P. Jain, chairman of the celebrations committee. He offered her a sandalwood garland, a sandalwood figure of Lord Bahubali and a Kashmiri shawl.

Mr Jain also welcomed the governor of Karnataka, Mr Govind Narain, and the state chief minister.

On the dais were seated Jain monks and nuns, including Ailacharya Vidyanand, Acharya Deshbhusha, Acharya Vimal Sagar and Muni Sushil Kumar. Several MPs, MLAs and ministers in the Gundu Rao cabinet were also present.

Mrs Gandhi left for New Delhi immediately after the function.

CSO: 4220

INDIAN PAPER ASSAILS PAKISTAN'S ROLE AS U.S. 'QUISLING'

BKO60718 Delhi NATIONAL HERALD in English 28 Mar 81 p 7

[Editorial: "Quislings and Their Patrons"]

[Text] Much alarm has been expressed, both inside and outside parliament, at disclosures in the External Affairs Ministry's annual report for 1980-81 of Pakistan's largely successful efforts in acquiring ultra-modern weapons on a large scale. This part naturally takes up a great deal of the report because India has been a victim of Pakistan military adventures thrice. Far more alarming in their sweep, however, are the disclosures made in the report of efforts by big powers to make the Indian Ocean the chosen arena of their confrontation. Internal upheavals and bilateral differences in the areas have been cleverly exploited by the big powers to exercise not only political and economic influence but "economic control" over many countries. The concentration of nuclear forces in the Indian Ocean region also raises the vital question of the "unstated but implied threat of using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states."

But while blaming the great powers, one cannot exonerate the local powers who fall for blandishments. Pakistan is in a class of its own because it has actually been inviting big power intervention. In fact it looks like seeking higher and higher bids, dismissing moderate bids as "peanuts." A Soviet report says it has already signed a secret pact to allow U.S. military bases on its territory. Apart from this, it has opened up this subcontinent to direct Chinese intervention by opening the Karakoram Highway and other connecting roads to Chinese military traffic which can now go right up to Karachi. A third big power has thus been added to the contention for controlling the Indian Ocean.

External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao pointed out in parliament how the Delhi conference of non-aligned foreign ministers, attended by most of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean, had arrived at a consensus that the region should remain a zone of peace. This is apart from the UN resolution on the subject. Pakistan was a party to the Delhi consensus. The non-aligned world has to consider seriously if a member should be allowed to get away after inviting foreign intervention in the region and accepting foreign bases on its soil. The last U.S. base on Pakistani soil was the spy station at Peshawar. Pakistan asked it to be dismantled and, on the strength of this action, and while Ayub Khan's mutual security pact with the U.S.

was still in force, asked to be admitted to the non-aligned club. Many wondered whether it was wise to let it in. Now it appears that the conversion was only skin-deep. Europe, after two decades of eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation, realised the futility of it and devised the Helsinki detente agreements. It would be foolish for the Indian Ocean nations to allow themselves to be the next centre of such a confrontation. The time has come for the Indian Ocean nations to make a determined united effort to isolate both outside powers and their own Quislings.

CBO: 4220

DELHI CARRIES COMMENTARY ON U.S. ARMS SALE TO PAKISTAN

BKD31904 Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1015 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Commentary by S. Visham of DECCAN HERALD]

[Text] The reported decision by the Reagan Administration to develop closer military relations with Pakistan by supplying it a variety of sophisticated arms in a massive military cum economic package has aroused deep concern in the Indian subcontinent.

The reaction is as understandable as it is predictable. The report suggests that the military assistance to Pakistan in the next 3 years will be around \$2.5 billion. Considering that the arms supplied will be on a concessional basis, the real worth of the arms may well exceed \$8 billion. This definitely is no peanuts—a term the Pakistani president used last year while rejecting an earlier American assistance offer of \$400 million.

The American decision stems from reappraisal of the national interest by the United States which has apparently come to the conclusion that they will be best served by evolving a strategic consensus among countries ranging from Pakistan to Egypt. Additionally, the U.S. is also simultaneously strengthening its military position in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region.

A point which is perhaps not fully noticed either by Pakistan or the U.S. is that India has never voiced any opposition to Islamabad's acquisition of arms to defend its legitimate territorial and national interest. But India's experience of the last 3 decades has shown that induction of large quantities of arms into Pakistan, in fact so large that they are disproportionate to the vital security needs, usually results in setbacks to the process of normalization in the subcontinent.

That the military administration in Pakistan should allow the induction and the American Government show such enthusiasm to arm Pakistan to its teeth become a matter of surprise when viewed against the fact that India has on more than one occasion made it clear that it is not insensitive to Pakistan's security concerns. Additionally, India has also repeatedly made it clear that India poses no threat whatsoever to Pakistan.

Because the American decision has introduced the new dimension to the geophysical and geostrategic environment of the subcontinent, and indeed in the entire region, Indian parliament has been rightly exercised over the development.

The deep concern felt by the people has also been conveyed through diplomatic channels to the American Government. External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao told parliament that he personally conveyed the government's concern over the move to militarize the Gulf region. Winding up the debate on the budget grants for his ministry, Rao took the opportunity once again to warn that the arming of Pakistan will create new tension in the area, trigger off an arms race and cause a setback to the normalization of India-Pakistan relations.

India will no doubt take such measures to safeguard its national interest as are warranted under the circumstances, but what needs to be stressed is that the arming of Pakistan does not represent the danger to India alone. The development poses not only new challenges to all the countries in the region, but it has new connotation to the security and integrity of both India and Pakistan's neighbors. No country within the subcontinental or the Indian Ocean region can escape the impact of a development in which massive quantities of most modern and sophisticated weapons are introduced into a single country.

Indubitably the impact will be adverse to the peace and stability of the region, including that of Pakistan, and the arms buildup will adversely affect the people of Pakistan. New tension based on attitude of confrontation will be built up. This is the reason why India has been consistently warning against the military presence of great powers in the Indian Ocean area.

To suit its own large global interest, the United States is trying to suck Pakistan into the whirlwind of the cold war. Narasimha Rao, therefore, appropriately posed the question whether Pakistan wants to be sucked into it or whether it wanted to play a natural role as a nonaligned nation.

CSO: 4220

'STATESMAN' COMMENTS ON HAQ'S CONSTITUTION

BK051712 Calcutta STATESMAN in English 27 Mar 81 p 8

[Editorial: "Zia Seizes His Chance"]

[Text] Short of declaring himself president for life, General Ziaul Haq has done everything possible not only to bestow tenuous legality on an unconstitutional office but also to vest it with absolute powers and perpetuate it beyond any kind of public mandate. When the General staged his coup in 1977 to make himself chief martial law administrator and commander of the armed forces, it was announced that this was only a temporary intervention and that parliamentary governance would be restored within a promised deadline. But the farce had worn thin long before General Zia elevated himself to the presidency toward the end of 1978; as published dates for elections were repeatedly set aside on one pretext or another and ever more arbitrary laws introduced to suppress all forms of dissent. It became increasingly clear that Pakistan's military ruler had no intention of ever relinquishing the substance of supreme authority. The most that he was prepared to concede was assemblance of civilian administration with selected politicians at the provincial and federal levels providing a garb of respectability to what remained a military dictatorship. Those parties that were initially willing to play along may have been tempted by the prospect of eventually acquiring effective control. But they were soon disillusioned, leaving General Zia almost without allies except within his own coterie, and even more isolated from the country at large.

The only link with the past to survive these cataclysmic changes was the 1973 constitution which though inoperative, was said to be in abeyance, thereby keeping alive the hope that it might one day be reactivated. But sweeping alterations under Tuesday's provisional constitutional order have now extinguished that last glimmer, imposing on all branches of Pakistan's public and official life the obligation to demonstrate unwavering loyalty to the person of a president whose incumbency remains as much beyond the law today as it was at the beginning. Manifestations of serious public unrest—with students, political parties, lawyers, trade unionists and the press uniting to demand liberal reforms—possibly explain a drastic measure that is expected to enable General Zia to eliminate all opposition and strengthen his position. But the obvious excuse was the recent unfortunate hijacking which the General has exploited for all it is worth, thereby encouraging commentators abroad to voice the suspicion that even if he did not have a hand in the incident, he had reason to welcome it. There may be no basis for the suggestion beyond a sequence that may well be entirely accidental, but timing could also encourage speculation on a connection between Pakistan's internal revamping and external relations.

It was, for instance, known even before the latest reports of \$500 million in U.S. military and economic assistance that the Republican administration viewed Pakistan as an important link in its global strategy; also that Mr Alexander Haig is of the opinion that a firm dictatorship is a better guarantor of domestic stability and of U.S. interests than a parliamentary democracy that is by definition subject to policy fluctuations. General Zia may have been encouraged by these attitudes (even if he did not receive advice or seek guidance) as demonstrated by President Reagan's policies in South Korea and El Salvador. But those who see authoritarianism as the only alternative to political uncertainty should also bear in mind that repressive governments that hold out no hope of change usually provoke far more extreme and unpredictable reactions than the hijacking of an airplane.

CSO: 4220

NAGPADA MEETING CONDEMNS 'ATTACK ON ISLAM'

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Feb 81 p 9

[Text] Bombay, February 21--The international conference organised earlier this month by reformist Bohras was several criticised at a public meeting organised by the Anjuman-e-Tahafuz-e-Mazaheb at Nagpada here yesterday. [as published]

The meeting in a resolution said the conference was nothing less than "a direct and frontal attack on Islam and the holy Koran made relentlessly and with deliberate intention."

The resolution contended that the conference was used as a platform to heap "scurrilous" attacks on the religious head of the Bohra community.

Among those who attended the meeting were Mr S. M. Banatwala, MP, Mr Ziauddin Bukhari, president, Muslim League (Bukhari group), Dr Ishaq Jamkhanawala, former state minister, Dr Maqbool Ahmed, president, Majlis Mushawarat, West Bengal, and Moulvi Abbas Rizvi. A large number of Bohras were among those who attended.

The meeting blamed the conference for attempting to generate a political atmosphere and lobby for the abrogation of articles 25 and 26 of the constitution for the purpose of alterations in Islamic practices.

Stressing the unity of different denominations of Islam, the meeting said there were no differences in the fundamentals of the religion and any interference in the Shariat would not be permitted.

"Muslims cherish their own religion and will not countenance, under any circumstances, interference by non-Muslims in the faith and in the administration and management of the religious internal affairs of any Muslim denomination," the resolution said.

The reference to non-Muslims was provoked by the Nathwani commission report, which went into several allegations made by the reformist Bohras against the functioning of the Bohra clergy.

The resolution stated that both Mr V. M. Tarkunde and Mr N. P. Nathwani, whom it described as the principal authors of the report, joined hands with the reformists in organising and conducting the conference.

The meeting resolved that future conferences of the type that was organised by the reformists should be prohibited to "conform to the declared policy of the government, that it will not interfere with the faith and personal law of Muslims."

While Dr Jamkhanawala was reading out the resolution, Mr Bukhari pressed for the insertion of a clause condemning the Vice-President, Mr Hidayatullah's reported remark that Indian society should be "catholic" in outlook.

When several leaders on the dais said that nothing could be inserted under pressure, Mr Bukhari reacted sharply and asked "why hold this 'natak' then?" There was a commotion as he walked out. He was persuaded to return and the meeting later decided to formally condemn the remarks made by anybody that would encourage violation of the Shariat.

Dr Jamkhanawala regretted that the Bohra reformists had sought the help of non-Muslims when they could have sorted out their problems in an amicable way within the community itself.

Mr Banatwala regretted that Muslims themselves were responsible for some of their problems. There was need for unity and pride in Islam, he said.

Quoting from a book by Mr K. M. Munshi, he said there would have been a reservation of seats for Muslims in Parliament had not Begum Rasool, a member of the constituent assembly's sub-committee, turned down the offer of such a reservation saying that she acted on behalf of the Muslim community and there was no need for such a move.

CSO: 4220

THREE ANTI-RESERVATION LEADERS DETAINED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] Ahmedabad, 21 Feb (PTI and UNI)--The Gujarat government today invoked the National Security Act against the anti-reservationists, detaining under it three leaders of the Gujarat anti-reservation committee which is demanding the total abolition of reservation from every field.

The committee's convener, Mr. Bhasker Bhatt, and a joint convener, Mr. Gaurang Shah, both engineering students, were arrested from their hostel, while the third arrest was made at Nadiad.

The GARC condemned the detention of its leaders under the NSA, under which no other person is kept in prison in Gujarat, and announced that the committee would call an emergency meeting to decide future course of action in the light of these arrests.

However, it had been known a week ago that the state cabinet decided to invoke the NSA against those indulging in or encouraging violence.

CSO: 4220

INDIA

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONDEMNS IMPENDING THATCHER VISIT

BK141245 Hong Kong AFP in English 1237 GMT 14 Apr 81

[Text] New Delhi, 14 Apr (AFP)--The Communist Party of India (CPI) today strongly condemned the impending visit to British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, to India beginning tomorrow.

"We view with concern and anxiety the visit of Mrs Thatcher to this country, she is coming after her visit to Washington where she joined with President Ronald Reagan in drawing up aggressive war plans including further militarization of the Indian Ocean and the creation of a joint Anglo-American rapid deployment force," the pro-Moscow party said in a statement issued here.

"During her rule, racists in Britain have received considerable encouragement and have also become very active. They have carried out violent orgies against Asia immigrants. The British authorities have subjected Asian immigrant women to the most degrading and barbarous virginity tests and sterilised many of them without their knowledge."

"We consider Mrs Thatcher's visit to our country this time thoroughly unwelcome ...there can be no meeting ground between peace loving India and aggressive Britain."

"The Indian Government must not only give no quarter to Mrs Thatcher but, on the contrary, must forcefully express our nation's indignation and revulsion against her policies," the statement said.

CSO: 4220

CONGRESS-COMMUNIST CONFRONTATION LOOMS IN WEST BENGAL

BKD61441 Hong Kong AFP in English 1329 GMT 6 Apr 81

[Text] New Delhi, 6 Apr (AFP)--The violence that rocked Calcutta on Friday [3 April] is seen here as the beginning of a confrontation between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government and the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) that could eventually lead to the ouster of the Marxist-controlled left front government in West Bengal.

Political observers noted that after several months of hesitation Mrs Gandhi had issued directives to her Congress Party (Congress-I) supporters in the state to launch popular agitation against the Marxists and their allies in cooperation with the rival Congress-Opposition (Congress-U).

The campaign would later be extended to Kerala, in the south, and Tripura, in the northeast, the only two other states where the Marxists are in power.

It was not yet clear whether the rival Congress-U leadership would join the movement, but Mrs Gandhi's Congress appeared to have drawn considerable support from the rank and file of the Congress-U during the 12-hour general strike and demonstration it launched in Calcutta on Friday.

The strike paralysed life in Calcutta and led to the death of a least 12 Congress-I supporters in police firing and damage to a large number of public buildings and state transport vehicles.

The Congress-I leadership in the state had called for the strike to protest against the death of three of their followers in an earlier incident on March 30.

Differences between Mrs Gandhi and the West Bengal government of Marxist chief Minister Jyoti Basu have been surfacing off and on since Mrs Gandhi assumed power in the centre in January last year. Mr Basu had charged that Mrs Gandhi had been conspiring and planning with her followers in the state to create a law and order problem that could provide her with an excuse to take over the administration.

First hints of the changing political scene came early this year when the congress protested against interference by the Basu government in education, highlighted by a decision to abolish English from primary school. The Marxist-led government had

also fanned public feelings against its education policy by withdrawing the book "Easy Reader," a book for school children written by the renowned Bengali poet and author, Rabindranath Tagore.

Observers recalled that the first communist-controlled government installed in Kerala in 1957 was toppled by the then congress government in New Delhi after widespread riots against its education policy led to a breakdown of law and order in the state.

Marxist as well as rightwing opposition leaders have charged Mrs Gandhi and her Congress followers with provoking violence in West Bengal and Kerala with a "motive."

Marxist General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad said, in a press statement, that Mrs Gandhi's "vicious attack on Marxist misrule" clearly showed her anti-Marxist stance.

Opposition Bharatiya Janata Party leader L.K. Advani said the imposition of direct rule by the centre in Bengal was on the cards and his party was "determined to oppose it."

West Bengal Congress-I president Adjit Panja, whose house was said to have been attacked during Friday's violence, claimed that the general strike was a complete success and "a clear vote of no-confidence" against the left-front government. He announced that the party would launch the second phase of the anti-Marxist protest programme throughout the state in the next few days after consultation with Mrs Gandhi and other central leaders.

CSO: 4220

SATHE TELLS LOCAL NEWSMEN OF VISIT TO FRANCE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Feb 81 p 9

[Article by Ramesh Chandran]

[Text] Paris, February 21. The foreign secretary, Mr R. D. Sathe, who had wide-ranging political discussions with both the French foreign minister, Mr Francois Poncet, and the secretary-general, Mr Bruno de Leusse, yesterday spoke of "growing understanding" on key issues between India and France.

Following the conclusion of his talks with his French counterpart, Mr Sathe told Indian journalists that France was extremely pleased with "the outcome of the recent non-aligned foreign ministers conference in New Delhi and the conference's stance on Afghanistan."

The French looked upon the Afghan development as a crucial change in the balance of forces and the Russian presence there "violated the unwritten ground rules of the game."

Mr Sathe said Mr Poncet had told him that France considered the non-aligned movement as "extremely important to the peaceful coexistence of the nations of the world" and valued its opinion in every area of discussion be it the north-south dialogue or east-west relations.

Asked about the French stance on Kampuchea, Mr Sathe said it was consistent since for them it was once again the principle of foreign troop involvement.

But, Mr Sathe pointed out, they had a "healthy attitude" towards India's recognition of the Kampuchean regime. France, unlike certain Asian countries, refrained from barbed criticism on this issue.

The Iran-Iraq war also figured in Mr Sathe's discussions with French officials and both countries agreed it was an "unfortunate war which is bound to fester for a long time unless brought to a quick end."

The potentially explosive situation in Poland also figured in Mr Sathe's talks. Both countries felt that caution should be exercised to ensure that there would be no change in the military balance in Europe.

'INDIAN EXPRESS' ON NEPAL'S PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

BK251535 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 18 Mar 81 p 6

[Editorial: "Question-Marks in Nepal"]

[Text] Facing the first direct election to the Rashtriya Panchayat and the second ever in the Himalayan Kingdom, the opposition in Nepal appears to be in a quandary. The question is whether to participate in the poll. Although no date has yet been fixed, all indications are that the exercise will be held in May. The final list of candidates is to be announced on March 28, leaving barely 10 days to the votaries of representative democracy to make up their minds, and if they agree to enter the fray, to avoid splitting of votes among themselves by working out a joint front.

The opposition dilemma originated with their defeat in last year's National Referendum which by a margin of 54 percent to 46 percent favoured continuation of the party less panchayat system rather than a switch to parliamentary democracy. Serious allegations of rigging notwithstanding, if the multi-party advocates gracefully accepted the verdict, it was mainly in the hope that King Birendra's promised reforms in the panchayat system would add up to a major stride towards genuine democratisation of the monarchical dispensation. These expectations have been largely belied.

Theoretically, the constitutional changes introduced in recent months liberalise the autocratic order. Practically, however, they leave the king fully in command. Thus, even though the panchayat members will be elected directly by the people on the basis of universal suffrage, the king retains the power "in special circumstances" to dismiss anybody. These circumstances have not been defined. Again, as many as 25 percent of the members, or 28 in the house of 112, will be hand-picked by the king. Perhaps trickiest of all innovations is the one relating to the election of the prime minister. The aspirant has to be proposed and seconded by 25 percent of the panchayat members and supported by no less than 60 percent of its total strength. In the likely event of an opposition leader's failure to meet these requirements, the king will himself pick the prime minister from a panel suggested by the panchayat.

Compounding these disadvantages to the opposition is the series of Draconian measures transparently designed to suppress dissent and debate. Political parties are banned and no candidate may identify himself with any party, nor hold any political meeting without prior permission and in no case criticise the king or the government. Some 40 newspapers and journals have been banned and with the recent hike in newsprint prices, the screws are being tightened for others. A spate of dismissals has terrorised the bureaucracy into total servility. In the event, the coming elections can hardly be construed as a step towards democracy in Nepal.

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS BENGAL LAND REFORMS ACT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Feb 81 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, February 21.--The fundamental rights of citizens are not absolute or unqualified. They are subject to reasonable restrictions which might be imposed in accordance with the provisions of article 19 of the constitution.

This was declared yesterday by Mr Justice S. Murtaza Fazal Ali and Mr Justice A. Varadarajan of the supreme court while upholding the constitutional validity of the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955.

The act was amended in 1972. A proviso was introduced to section 2 of the act in 1977, which says that a tenant cultivator was required to reside near his land for a greater part of the year.

The judges, however, declared as harsh and unjust certain provisions of the act which barred a tenant-cultivator from cultivating his own land himself or through a share-cropper of his choice after the land had been surrendered by the earlier share cropper voluntarily.

As they were helpless in striking down the provisions as unconstitutional since the provisions were protected against such pronouncement by virtue of the act's inclusion in the ninth schedule of the constitution, the court suggested to the state government to do something to soften the harshness by making necessary legislative changes.

The provisions contained in section 20B, subclauses 3, 4 and 5, the court said, perilously bordered on arbitrariness and amounted to serious curbs on the fundamental rights of the cultivator to pursue his occupation.

CSO: 4220

PANEL REPORTS OF JANATA GOLD AUCTIONS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, February 21--The one-man panel headed by the former Reserve Bank governor, Mr K. R. Puri, has come to the conclusion that the gold auctions during the Janata rule were conceived neither in public interest nor on sound economic considerations.

In its 280-page report submitted to the government recently, the panel is understood to have said that the policy and procedures drawn up in this regard clearly showed that these were meant only to benefit the rich.

The report has pointed out that the original minimum and maximum limits for bidding were one kg and five kg., which meant that persons wanting to bid should have money ranging from Rs 70,000 to Rs 3.5 lakhs in their possession. Ordinary consumers or even goldsmiths were clearly out of race. Later, these limits were halved, making little difference to the fact that only a few gold dealers could avail themselves of the auctions.

Confiscated Gold

Secondly, the people from the metropolitan city of Bombay could, in effect, corner these auctions, held between May 3 and October 23 in 1978. The bids were to be made only in Bombay and deliveries were also given there.

While those living in the metropolis could watch the market trends and make their quotations even an hour before the closure of bids, others residing outside the city who had necessarily to fulfil these formalities were less advantageously placed.

In all, 12,890,900 grammes of yellow metal worth Rs 86.53 crores was sold in 14 auctions. In two auctions, no bids were accepted.

After the public outcry, the report says, the government had assured Parliament that even the ordinary citizen would be allowed facility to bid at these auctions but it was never translated into practice by suitable alterations in the terms of the auctions.

The report has controverted the contention of the former prime minister, Mr Morarji Desai, that only the confiscated gold had been auctioned. It says that the entire gold stock with the government, to the tune of Rs 500 crores (about 70 tonnes at the prevalent price), was meant to be sold out in a vain bid to bring down the prices. This included gold donated by the people after the Chinese aggression in 1962 and Pakistani attack in 1965.

CSO: 4220

BRIEFS

NEW DANISH AMBASSADOR—New Ambassador of Denmark Bjorn Harry Olsen presented his credentials to President N. Sanjiva Reddy at Rashtrapati Bhavan on 24 March. [Text] [Delhi ISI Democratic Information Service in English 0913 GMT 25 Mar 81 BK]

AIRCRAFT SPARES TO BRITAIN—India is to export spare parts of aircraft engines worth 20 million pounds to Britain from next year. The buying operation will begin from the middle of 1982. The first Indian-assembled Jaguar Supersonic Aircraft will also roll out by the same time. [Text] [Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1000 GMT 25 Mar 81 BK]

KASHMIR RULING PARTY CHIEF—Dr Farooq Abdullah is the new president of the ruling Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. He was declared elected on 26 March. He takes over the party leadership from his father Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. [Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 26 Mar 81 BK]

MEDIA COOPERATION WITH BAHRAIN—India and Bahrain have agreed to forge closer co-operation in press, radio, television and film agencies. A protocol on mass media was signed by visiting Information Minister of Bahrain and the Indian Minister of Information and Broadcasting in New Delhi on 27 March. [Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1000 GMT 27 Mar 81 BK]

JAPANESE LOAN—Japan is to give India a concessional loan worth over 50 million rupees for a thermal power station expansion project in Assam. Documents relating to this were signed by the secretary of the Department of Economic Affairs and the Japanese Ambassador to India in New Delhi on 27 March. [Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1000 GMT 27 Mar 81 BK]

CRUDE REFINING CAPACITY—India's crude refining capacity will go up to nearly 38 million tons by the middle of 1982. This will be possible with the commissioning of a new 6 million ton refinery by that time. The total refining capacity in the country now stands at about 32 million tons. [Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1000 GMT 27 Mar 81 BK]

AMBASSADOR TO YAR—Dharam Paul Pasricha presented his credentials as Ambassador of India on 30 March to Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the republic and commander in chief of the armed forces of the Yemen Arab Republic. In his reply to the ambassador's speech, the Yemeni president thanked India for her support of the Arab and Palestinian cause and also praised India's role in the nonaligned movement. [Text] [Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 1508 GMT 31 Mar 81 BK]

MAYOR OF BOMBAY ELECTION--In Bombay, Dr A.U. Menon of the Janata Party has been elected mayor of the city municipal corporation for the year 1981-82. In a straight fight he defeated Congress-I candidate Ramesh Dubey. Menon secured 81 votes against 57 received by Dubey. The house has a strength of 140. [Text] [BK021247 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 2 Apr 81]

DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS--T.T.P. Abdullah, presently director general of police, Tamil Nadu, has been appointed ambassador of India to Saudi Arabia in succession to A.K. Hafizka. Narendra Singh, presently ambassador of India to Libya, has been appointed ambassador of India to Switzerland in succession to Gurbachan Singh. Ravindra Kumar Jerath, presently minister in the Embassy of India, Washington, has been appointed ambassador of India to the Philippines in succession to Lakshmi Narayan Ray. Chandrashekar Dasgupta, presently joint secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, has been appointed high commission of India to Singapore in succession to Bhaupatray Oza. Preet Mohan Singh Malik, presently ambassador of India to Cuba, has been appointed ambassador of India to Jordan in succession to Abdul Ghani Goni. Sarv Kumar Kathpalai, ambassador of India to Peru, has been concurrently accredited as ambassador of India to Bolivia with residence in Lima. [BK070605 Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 1525 GMT 6 Apr 81]

USSR METEOROLOGY DELEGATION--A six-member Soviet delegation arrived in New Delhi on 4 April for talks on strengthening India-Soviet cooperation on meteorology. The delegation is led by Prof Y.A. Izrael', chairman of the Soviet state committee for hydrometeorology. It will hold discussions with Indian experts on research programs on atmospheric physics, numerical weather predictions, studies on middle atmosphere and hydrometeorology. [BK070605 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 4 Apr 81]

FOOD AID TO OTHERS--India is at present giving food aid to about 20 countries. This was disclosed by the union finance minister in Gangtok. Venkataraman said it is a matter of pride that India, which had to depend on foreign food aid a few years ago, is not in a position to give food to others. The finance minister during his 4-day tour of Sikkim is to visit forward areas on the India-Tibetan border. [Text] [BK070605 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 5 Apr 81]

GOVERNMENT STEPS AGAINST NAXALITES--The government is keeping a close watch on the activities of Naxalites and action under the law has been initiated against those indulging in violence and illegal acts. Minister of State for Home Affairs Yogendra Makwana said this in the Lok Sabha today. He said the government is not aware of any change in policy of Naxalites who are trying to infiltrate various organizations with a view to paralysing production and disrupting economic and social life. [Text] [BK010937 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 1 Apr 81]

ENVOYS TO MALAWI, TURKEY--Groundrup Dorji Atik, presently counsellor in the Embassy of India, Damascus, has been appointed high commissioner of India to Malawi in succession to Paramjit Singh Sahai. Parimal Ghosh, former union minister of state for railways, has been appointed ambassador of India to Turkey in succession to Nagendra Nath Jha. [Text] [BK140429 Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 1730 GMT 10 Apr 81]

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENT--The president of India, on the advice of the prime minister, has directed that C.P.N. Singh, minister of state in the departments of science and technology and electronics, shall also be minister of state in the department of environment. [Text] [BK140429 Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 0851 GMT 13 Apr 81]

STRATEGIC ROADS IN KASHMIR--The government is alive to the strategic implications of road construction activities in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir area and such developments are taken into consideration while planning for full defense preparedness. This was stated by State Minister for Defense Shivraj Patil during question hour in the Lok Sabha today. He said that the government has seen some reports about Pakistan constructing extension roads linking the strategic Karakoram road. However, there is no confirmation that China is helping Pakistan in any manner in this respect. Answering questions about the Karakoram Highway, the minister said that India lodged formal protests both to Pakistan and China about 4 years ago. [Text] [BK150900 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 15 Apr 81]

CSO: 4220

REFLECTIONS ON PAST, FUTURE OF TNI

Jakarta PRISMA in Indonesian No 12 Dec 80 pp 12-26

[Article by Gen T B Simatupang: "Re-studying the Role of the TNI; a Reflection on Its History and a Perspective on Its Future"]

[Text] The TNI in the course of its history is not a continuation of the military history of Dutch colonialism. Neither is it a military continuation of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia during World War II. The TNI is something completely new, a product of the revolutionary action to proclaim the independence of Indonesia. When we returned to the Constitution of 1945 in 1959, the role of the TNI increased. However, according to Simatupang, when we achieve maturity in political development, the extent of the role of the TNI can also be reduced in a planned and phased manner.

By continuing to pay attention to the experience of the military profession in general in other countries and at other periods of history, we seek to reflect on the purposes and the special evaluations which must be our guide in studying and projecting forward the role of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) in the country of the Pancasila. It was born in war and revolution and both now and in the future wrestles with the challenges facing it in the period of its development.

Re-studying the role of the TNI in the country of the Pancasila in the past and projecting that role in the perspective of the future requires a combination of objective and rational discussion and a commitment to the purposes and values contained in the words TNI and Pancasila. It is proper to note at the beginning of this article that I regard myself as one who loves the TNI and the Pancasila, which by itself means one who loves the people or democracy. Whereas in the experience of many developing countries the role of the military is often found to be in conflict with the development of democracy, I would like to express in this article the hope and conviction that the role of the TNI in the country of the Pancasila should mean taking part in promoting the experience of each principle of the Pancasila through the planning and application of national development. The experience of the Pancasila also involves the experience of the principle of democracy, guided by wisdom in discussion and representation. That means that the role of the TNI should be to join in promoting development and the maturing of democratic life.

The author of this article is included in the generation which generally is called the Generation of 1945. This generation had the opportunity to take part in the struggle for independence of our nation and to lay strong foundations for the unity and union of our people. In this way they provided convincing proof of the falseness of two myths that were widespread during the period of Dutch colonialism: first, the myth that the Indonesian nation was not capable of developing armed forces; and second, the myth that the Indonesian nation would split apart even if it were given independence as a present.

In a period of less than one generation, our nation has developed armed forces, or the TNI, which have been tempered and brought to adulthood by their experience in the war of independence, the revolution, and the building of a nation. In the space of less than one generation, therefore, with the Pancasila our nation has achieved steadiness in national unity and union which, in my view, can no longer be shaken by anyone or anything. When we recall that during the same period in the sub-continent of India there has been a process of territorial division, at first into two and later into three countries, we will more fully appreciate that the process of nation building which has gone on in Indonesia has been a very important historical performance.

In re-studying the role of the TNI in the country of the Pancasila we can say that the TNI has been the advanced element and guard during the journey of our nation through war, revolution, and nation building. However, that is not all. The TNI has also regarded itself as a full participant in sharing the load during the journey. The TNI sees itself as the guard, pioneer, and practitioner of the Pancasila and as the "child" of the revolution.

In projecting forward the role of the TNI in the country of the Pancasila in the perspective of the future, we will place that role in connection with the implementation of the goals of our nation through national development. Those goals are generally expressed in the terms of building an Indonesian society that is modern, just, progressive, and continuing, based on the Pancasila. There is still a question as to how the TNI role as a source of stability and dynamism should be performed in order to turn it into a positive and creative participant in the process of building a society which is modern, just, progressive, and continuing, based on the Pancasila. Of course, this question also includes the task of preventing such a role from deteriorating into a factor in conflict with or deviating from the national goals which are to be achieved.

I have had the opportunity to take part in developing the TNI and generally in the independence struggle of our nation and the struggle to maintain strong foundations for our national unity and union. The question for the TNI and for the friends of my generation is what will later be said of the role of the Generation of 1945 in the history of our nation. Will it be said that this generation was successful in the struggle to win independence and to safeguard and raise the level of national union and unity, but later failed to lay strong and healthy foundations for the efforts of subsequent generations to develop a society which is modern, just, progressive, and continuing, based on the Pancasila? It is in that connection that we may note three possibilities or three tracks which lie ahead in our future.

The first track is that we will fail in our national development. In such a case this will be a failure which will stretch out over a long time, as has occurred in Latin America after its war of independence ended and also in the history of the Kuomintang. There have also been dramatic and total failures, such as the experienced in Iran recently.

The second track is that we will achieve success in the development of the economic and industrial sector but fail in developing a democratic political life which can channel the aspirations and feelings of responsibility of our society. These aspirations and feelings of responsibility continue to grow as a result of development itself. Failure to channel the aspirations and feelings of responsibility of our people we see happening in South Korea. There are those who think that only by setting aside President Park Chung Hee could the road be open for better development. We also need to study the history of Japanese development. We see that Japan previously achieved large-scale and rapid progress in the economic and industrial sector. However, at the same time it became a fascist and militaristic country. Japan was only able to emerge from the clutches of fascism and militarism after it experienced widespread destruction as a consequence of its defeat during World War II.

The third track is that we achieve progress in development by combining stability and economic and industrial development by experiencing all of the principles of the Pancasila. That means that progress in development is not only measured by economic growth but rather all at once by asking whether religious freedom and harmony as well as the life of the spirit have experienced progress or not (the first principle of the Pancasila). Then we ask whether basic human rights and values are held in high esteem or not (the second principle of the Pancasila). We ask whether Indonesian unity and union are increasingly firm or not (the third principle of the Pancasila). We ask whether democracy is steadily growing or not (The fourth principle of the Pancasila). We ask whether social justice for the entire Indonesian people is becoming increasingly evident or not (the fifth principle of the Pancasila).

The third track is my choice. This involves development through experiencing the Pancasila. With the Pancasila we have already given a permanent answer to the challenge of history, that is, by establishing a free country on a basis which can ensure national unity and union. With the Pancasila we are now facing a new historic challenge, that is, carrying out development which applies all of the principles of the Pancasila in concrete form and in a balanced way through planning and carrying out such development.

The way in which the TNI carries out its task in the future as a source of stability and dynamism in the developing nation of the Pancasila will contribute to determining whether our nation will be able to avoid what was said above regarding the first and second track and whether we will achieve rapid development in the course of our path along the third track. It is in that connection that we have placed this article, entitled, "Re-studying the Role of the TNI in the Pancasila State; a Reflection on Its History and a Perspective on Its Future." It is our hope that reflection on its history and a perspective on its future can help us to consider the best way for the implementation of the role of the TNI as a source of stability and dynamism in the future development process, with the result that such a role will help our nation to avoid the first and second tracks and achieve large-scale progress on the third track in order to build an Indonesian society which is modern, just, progressive, and continuing, based on the Pancasila.

Thus, it is clear that the way the TNI carries out its task of providing stability and dynamism in the developing Pancasila state does not involve the TNI alone but rather includes each of our national problems, which together will contribute to determining the character and direction of our growth and development as a nation and as a state in the future. For that reason we as a nation must pay the greatest attention to this question. From the point of view of the Generation of 1945 it can be said that the way the TNI carries out its task as a source of stability and dynamism in the developing Pancasila state in the future will strongly affect the answer to the question whether history will see the Generation of 1945 as a generation which was initially successful but afterwards met with failure toward the end of its period of service. It is an historic fact that the highest product of the Generation of 1945 is the TNI.

In our effort to re-study the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state, we have placed that role in the framework of our development, our state problems, and our nation in general. We are aware that in the historical process, which is full of movement such as was found in the war for independence, the revolution, nation building, and development, the armed forces are a very important factor. In reflecting on that role it would be well for us first to make a comparison with the role of the armed forces in other countries and at other periods of history. After that we will follow the development of the TNI role in the history of our Pancasila state. Finally, we will seek to project the ways available for the implementation of the TNI task as a source of stability and dynamism in the development on an Indonesian society which is modern, just, progressive, and continuing, based on the Pancasila, in the future.

In the last few years there have been many studies, especially by political scientists, regarding the role of the armed forces in developing countries. Among them are also studies regarding the military role in Indonesia. This article has no pretensions and is not intended to be such a study. This article has a different character and objective, although as far as possible the results of the studies mentioned above will be considered. What I want to express in this article is an idea for reflection, that is, the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state in the past and later on I wish to express my hopes and ideals for such a role in the future, in accordance with the spirit of the TNI on the one hand and also in accordance with the spirit of the Pancasila state on the other hand. That means that what I wish to describe is not only conditions as they are, or *Das Seiende* [sic; in German], but also conditions as they should be, or *Das Sollen* [sic; in German]. As I mention above, this article is not intended as an analysis based on political science, but rather the expression of hopes and ideals based on existential involvement in questions regarding the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state in the past and in the future.

A 'Time Tunnel': Role of the Armed Forces in Various Places at Various Times

Now, each week on the screen of Indonesian television we can follow the film series called "The Time Tunnel." Through the experience of two people who are placed in a tunnel, TV viewers can watch incidents which have already occurred in history in various places in the world. What we would like to do now is also enter a time tunnel in order to review several cases involving the role of the armed forces in several places and during several periods of history. The German philosopher Herman Keyserling once wrote a journal regarding a trip to several countries with the motto that the shortest way to know oneself is to make a trip around the world.

What he meant was that the more we see circumstances which are different from our own, the more we know ourselves. For the conditions which we experience are like a mirror which reflects an image of our own face. We hope that by reflecting on cases involving the role of the armed forces in various places and at various times we will be able to have a better understanding of the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state in the past and in the future.

A German military historian, Hans Delbruck, once wrote a book entitled, "History of the Science of War in the Framework of Political History." What he meant was that war could only be understood in the framework of political developments. We know that politics give birth to war and that war is carried on to achieve a political objective. War is an instrument of politics and is even a part of politics. It is politics which give a design and character to war. Indeed, truly war is part of a cultural system. It obtains its design and character from the culture in which the war is carried on. The German writer on war, Carl von Clausewitz, once wrote that war fits in with its surroundings like a chameleon.

All of this means that the place and role of the armed forces in a given country, indeed, in a given culture, is determined by the design and political character of the state and by the design and character of the culture involved. The "Time Tunnel" role of the armed forces in various places and at various times will show us a variety of circumstances affecting the place and role of the armed forces in the various political and cultural contexts. What we hope for is that each situation will be a mirror which will reflect pictures of our own circumstances. Thus, we will be helped to understand that much better the question which we are considering, that is the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state in the past and in the future.

We can say that there must be harmony between the form and character of the armed forces and the form and character of the political and cultural framework. When there is no such harmony, or, in other words, when there are differences and even conflicts between the form and character of the armed forces and the form and character of the society and culture, one of two possibilities will occur. On the one hand the political and cultural context can change the form and character of the armed forces and bring them into harmony with their own character and form. On the other hand the armed forces can change the character and form of the political and cultural context and bring them into harmony with their own character and form. Although basically there is harmony between the character and form of the armed forces and the character and form of the political and cultural context, in practice there will always be a process of exchanges of influence between the armed forces and the political and cultural context in which they are found.

In general, there can be no sharp difference or division between the military and political functions in the traditional political and cultural structure. Under traditional circumstances there generally is no specialization and professionalization in the military and political arenas. The kings and members of the aristocracy, or a different political elite group at times function as commanders and vice versa. In the caste system in India, for example, which also has some influence in Indonesia, the kings, the aristocracy, and the political elite, as well as the military commanders, are all members of the warrior caste. That means that in the traditional political and cultural structures the military function had high social status, except in the tradition of mainland China, where the military had a low social position and were considered on the same level as cattle butchers and the like.

We will use our time tunnel for a time to cast some light on the role of the armed forces in Greece during the classical period. We see that there was a difference between Athens and Sparta. In Sparta, which was under the government of a king, the armed forces were led by the king himself, and the entire political and cultural life of the city was penetrated by the military spirit. Athens, which had a political structure and cultural form which was democratic in spirit, was reluctant to place the powers of command over the armed forces in the hands of a commander, because it was feared that such centralization of authority could be a threat to the political and cultural system which was democratic in spirit. For that reason in Athens 10 "strategists" or commanders were appointed, which means that considerations of military efficiency gave way to the consideration of protecting the character and form of democracy in the political and cultural system of Athens. The difference or conflict between the military standard in Sparta and the democratic standard in Athens in terms of the place and role of the armed forces in one form we will meet again in reviewing conditions in different places and at different periods of time. One aspect of our problem in Indonesia regarding the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state is paying attention both to efficiency in carrying out the task of the TNI as well as the objectives of development of democracy in the framework of experiencing the Pancasila.

We will follow a little further the difference between the place and role of the armed forces in Greece, which considered of the alliance of free city-states, and in the kingdom of Persia. The Greek armed forces consisted of citizens of the city who had the status and spirit of free men, while the armed forces of ancient Persia were composed of soldiers who did not have many rights or much freedom, in the framework of a feudal political and cultural system. Although the total strength of the Persian armed forces was far larger, finally Greece was able to defeat Persia in the well-known battle of Marathon (490 B C). The difference of conflict between the standard of Greece and the standard of Persia in terms of the position, character, and form of the armed forces in one form has also been found in other places and at other times. We in Indonesia learned from experience that one factor which made it possible to achieve success in the independence war against the Dutch was the freedom of spirit among the members of the TNI and our people in general, with the result that, although on 19 December 1948 the chief of state was captured by the Dutch, the TNI and the people continued the struggle.

The development of the place and role of the armed forces during the history of the Roman Empire is very useful for us to follow briefly. In the year 510 B C Rome changed from a kingdom into a republic. Because of the fear that the concentration of power could open the way for a return to a monarchy, the Roman armed forces were placed under two consuls, who each day alternated in taking command. At the time the Roman troops consisted of farmers who were performing their military service. After the territory of Rome expanded, Rome was forced to accept paid soldiers who were only loyal to the commander who paid their salaries. The change in the military system opened the way to political adventures by the commanders, leading to civil war. The commander who came out on top in the civil war became "Caesar," a title which originated with Julius Caesar. In time special troops to guard the Caesar, or emperor, were formed, with the name of "Praetorian Guard." The Guard was well-known in the history of the Roman Empire because it very often misused its power to force an emperor to surrender his throne and to determine who would become the next emperor. Up to the present the term "praetorianism" is known in the literature of political science to describe intervention by the armed forces

to end the authority of a government. Without using the term "praetorianism" during the history of the TNI there has been a determination not to undertake military intervention such as took place during the history of the Roman Empire, because there is an awareness that once that kind of action is taken, it will be a precedent which will be repeated again.

After the Roman Empire fell, for several centuries Western Europe experienced divisions in the political structure and a decline in culture, knowledge, and also in the military field. Feudalism arose, in which the landlords controlled the people around them in a political, economic, and military manner. It was at that time outside of Western Europe that the power and culture of Islam arose. In 636 A D the Khalid defeated the troops of the Eastern Roman Empire at the battle of Yarmuk, in Syria. In that way the movement to expand the power of Islam began and continued for several hundred years. Basically, success in that effort was the result of the emergence of a new military system, and even a new spirit.

Toward the end of the 15th century a dynamic and continuing process of change emerged in the life and human awareness as well as in the society of Western Europe. It was that process which gave birth to what is now known as the modern world. In the history of Western Europe itself the process of "modernization" has continued in phases and accompanied by movements of major change during the period of the Renaissance (1480-1520), the period of the Reformation and the wars of religion (1520-1648), the period of the absolutist kings (1648-1789), the period of industrialism, democracy, and nationalism (1789-1914). Since World War I (1914-1918), which was followed by the communist takeover in Russia, we can say that the influence of the process of modernization, which originally began in Western Europe, is now felt throughout the world. Everywhere it is felt that the world is increasingly becoming one entity and increasingly smaller. As was the case with Western European society since the Renaissance, there has begun in society outside of Western Europe a modernization process which moves in a dynamic and continuous way, accompanied by large-scale changes.

Modernization involves a new way of thinking, a new kind of life, a new way to engage in politics, a new way to make war, a new way to do business, a new way to see nature and history, in short, a new culture. The process originally was born in the cities of Italy, in which rich merchants held political power and rented armed forces to defend their interests and political systems. It was in that situation that Niccollo Machiavelli (1469-1527) emerged, who can be regarded as the first modern political and military writer. He urged that the hired armies be replaced by troops based on military service. He explained both politics and war as areas of activity which should be carried on in an intelligent, healthy, or rational way. Machiavelli explained the close relationship between politics and the condition of the armed forces as follows: "It is not possible for good laws to exist where there are no good armed forces, and where there are good armed forces good laws are very much needed. The basis of a state is good military organization. Statesmen must study the science of war, the organization and discipline of the armed forces." Machiavelli's views are also useful for us to bear in mind in the effort to re-study the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state.

By-passing the position and role of the armed forces during the period of the Reformation and the wars of religion (1520-1648) and also in the period of the absolute kings (1648-1789), we will review for a time developing conditions during the period of industrialism, democracy, and nationalism (1789-1914). The French

Revolution which began in 1789 was an important event during the period. To oppose the troops of the absolute king, composed of professional soldiers, the revolution developed a new way of making war, which involved the people who voluntarily took up arms. The revolution, which was a people's revolution with the slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," finally brought a general to power, Napoleon Bonaparte, who made himself emperor. However, later the imperial system disappeared, and there emerged in France and in the other countries of Western Europe modern states such as we know now, that is, industrial states which are national and democratic states. In this political system there is a clear division between the political and military functions, based on the principle of civilian supremacy. Because the first generation of our country's leaders generally had Western education, wittingly or unwittingly they adopted conditions in the modern states of Western Europe as a model in developing the place and role of the TNI in our Pancasila state. However, conditions in Indonesia, which were different from those in Western Europe, led to the situation now that the place and role of the TNI in the Pancasila state are different from the "model" of Western Europe.

The view of the place and role of the armed forces, resulting from the French Revolution, we added to with some reservations. The first reservation is that, as distinct from the French Revolution, the American revolution did not bring out a general who held absolute power as an emperor. The American Revolution brought out a democratic, presidential system of government, although the first president to be elected was the general who led the American people during the revolution. The second reservation is that the Spanish people opposed the power of Napoleon by carrying on a new form of war which they called a "little war," or in Spanish, "guerrilla." Now we call a war like that a people's war. We see that after that people's war for more than 100 years Spain has experienced unstable conditions and continuous political upheaval. The third reservation is that, in connection with the occupation of Spain by Napoleon, the Spanish empire in Latin America had an opportunity to carry out with success an independence war and a revolution. We see that, for more than 100 years since then the Latin American countries have experienced instability and continuous upheaval. We in Indonesia have carried out a revolution and an independence war in the form of a people's war, and in the development of the place and role of the TNI in the Pancasila state we always remind ourselves that we don't want the Spanish experience and the experience of the Latin American countries of instability and continuous political upheaval for more than 100 years to be repeated again in Indonesia. What we hope for is that over the period of a century and with the revolution completed and the independence war completed developments in Indonesia will more closely resemble developments in the United States than developments in the Latin American countries.

We have already said that in societies outside of Western Europe a modernization process is going on in a dynamic and continuous way, accompanied by large-scale change. In this connection we can mention Japan as a successful example and China under the Kuomintang as an unsuccessful example. In fact, we can also mention Russia, Germany, and Italy, because, although the last two countries are located in Western Europe, initially they were left behind in terms of modernization, as compared with France, England, and other countries of Western Europe, with the result that they had to carry on the modernization process to make up for lost time. We see that countries which are forced to carry on the process of modernization to make up for lost time, either encountering failure, like China under the Kuomintang, or "success," nevertheless become totalitarian countries: Russia became a communist

totalitarian state, Germany became a Nazi totalitarian state, Italy became a fascist totalitarian state, and Japan became a fascist and militaristic totalitarian state. Those totalitarian states themselves develop "their own models for the place and role of the armed forces in the state." In the communist model the party penetrates the armed forces through "political commissars." In developing the place and role of the TNI in the Pancasila state, which is carrying on its process of modernization and development, we always remind ourselves to avoid both failure such as was previously experienced by the Kuomintang as well as the "success" which was previously experienced by Germany, Italy, Japan, and also Russia.

Since World War II almost all nations previously under colonialism won their independence, beginning with Indonesia, which proclaimed its independence a few days after World War II ended, on 17 August 1945. Together with the countries of Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, which achieved their independence before World War II, the newly independent states are now grouped in the category of developing countries which at times are called the Third World. The total number of countries in this category is now more than 100. In one form the military element has a very important and even decisive role in at least two-thirds of the developing countries. Of the 20 Latin American countries, for example, only in Costa Rica and Mexico have the military refrained from undertaking political intervention since 1945. Therefore, there are those who say that in the developing countries it is "normal" for the military to have a very important role, while the existence of civilian governments is the exception. In the last few years many studies have been published on the role of the military in the developing countries. Many of the studies are simply descriptive in character. Generally, the studies approach the problem from the point of view of political science and try to understand what caused the role of the military to become so important in the developing countries and subsequently what can be achieved with such a role, particularly in the field of political development. That is, whether the state and society involved increases its rate of progress, including progress in political development, as a consequence of the military role. Generally, there are two views regarding those questions. The first view sees a strong reason for an important military role in the majority of developing countries in connection with the weakness of the existing political structure, with the result that the armed forces, which are relatively more modern, often are the only organized group which can ensure stability. In our view, in such circumstances the armed forces can become a factor which stimulates modernization and development. The second view sees the role of the armed forces as a negative factor which brings no progress at all but specifically becomes a source of continuing instability. In our effort to consider the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state in the past and in the future we need to study as carefully as possible both the positive results as well as the negative experiences of the role of the military in the developing countries since World War II, as stated in the studies referred to above.

These are the lessons which we can learn from the cases regarding the role of the armed forces in various places and historical times, which we can follow through the use of our "time tunnel."

Past Role of the TNI

With our reflections regarding the place and role of the armed forces in several countries and at several periods of time as a background, now we will review briefly

the past role of the TNI in the Pancasila state. For that purpose, first it is necessary to discuss the essence and special characteristics, both of the Pancasila state and of the TNI. The role of the TNI in Indonesia we indeed can see as an example of the role of the armed forces in a developing country. As we noted previously, we can and must draw the lessons, both positive as well as negative, of the experience of other developing countries regarding the role of the armed forces. Still, we will place the questions which we face in Indonesia in the framework of the implementation of the goals for our state and society as expressed in the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945. The TNI, which was born not only as a technical, military instrument but rather as an armed manifestation of the national struggle to defend our independence and to build a new society in accordance with the goals stated in the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945, we regard as a participant having a special task in the framework of the national struggle. Therefore, there was an interaction between the Pancasila state and the TNI, in the sense that there was one side and form, the Pancasila state, determining the character and form of the TNI, while the other side, the TNI, felt it was joining in assuming responsibility and joining in determining the direction and character of the development of the Pancasila state.

We must look at the Pancasila state as the product of the struggle movement for Indonesian independence, as expressed in the words found in the preamble to the Constitution of 1945, which states: "And the struggle movement for Indonesian independence has reached that happy moment safely and peacefully, leading the Indonesian people to the door of the independence of the Indonesian state, which is free, united, sovereign, just, and progressive." On the one hand the Pancasila records and serves the principles which have developed during the struggle movement for independence, while on the other hand the Pancasila is the basis for the common struggle of all groups and classes of the Indonesian nation to build a new future together in a new society.

We must look at the TNI as the spearpoint or as an armed fist in the national struggle, especially of the Generation of 1945 which performed a pioneering function in our independence war. In the Constitution of 1945 there are few provisions regarding the place and role of the armed forces in the nation, apart from the provision that, "The president shall hold supreme authority over the Army, Navy, and Air Force," and later on the provision that, "Every citizen has the right and the duty to take part in the defense of the country." During the Indonesian independence movement there was not much thought given to defense questions. For that reason, after the proclamation of independence the development of the place and role of the TNI in the Pancasila state was more generally determined by the dynamics of the struggle itself and by the characteristics and qualities of the TNI as the historic consequences of its birth. Although at the time of the birth of the TNI there were elements in it who had obtained military experience during the Dutch colonial period and the Japanese occupation period, along with young men joining in the struggle, nonetheless the TNI was not a continuation of the military history of the Dutch colonial period or of the military history of the Japanese occupation period. The TNI was a completely new organism, the product of the revolutionary action of our nation in proclaiming our independence and especially the highest achievement of the Generation of 1945, which was a pioneer in the independence struggle of our nation. The young, armed men who were the first components in the formation of the TNI, always regarded themselves as a force which had taken part in

the issuance of the proclamation of independence. Therefore, they felt they shared in the responsibility for the future of the Pancasila state which had been proclaimed. From the very beginning this was a part of the self-understanding of the members of the TNI.

In the first months after the proclamation of independence and the formation of the armed forces, at first with the name of the People's Security Body (BKR) to avoid use of the term, the army to express the peaceful policy of the Republic of Indonesia, the armed forces in practice developed in an autonomous way. The Supreme Command (Markas Tertinggi) was formed and functioned for a long time before a real occasion was found to develop a Ministry of Defense. The atmosphere of autonomy in the armed forces was pictured in the "elections" which were held among the leaders of the armed forces to propose the appointment of a supreme commander. The subsequent appointment of a supreme commander by the government only gave formal confirmation to the results of the "elections."

The proclamation of independence gave birth to a fundamental conflict between us and the Dutch regarding who would be sovereign over Indonesia, the Netherlands or ourselves. The course of the struggle to resolve this conflict very much influenced the development of the place and role of the TNI in the Pancasila state. At that time there were three views among us regarding the way to resolve the conflict. The first view hoped for a resolution through diplomatic means. The second view stated that the conflict could only be resolved when the Netherlands was forced to leave Indonesia by the armed opposition of the revolutionary people. The third view saw that the resolution of the conflict required a long-term struggle, in which there was a role for diplomacy and a role for armed struggle, because at the beginning of the conflict both the Dutch and we did not have the capability to force the other side to agree to its wishes through the use of military force. For that reason the two sides undertook discussions and were prepared to make concessions, without abandoning their respective, basic view, while respectively strengthening themselves to face the possibility of a final appeal to force. From the point of view of the TNI this meant supporting discussions while consolidating itself. Such consolidation, among other things, meant integrating into the TNI the armed troops which originally emerged spontaneously. A portion of those armed troops at first had their own political orientation.

After larger and smaller battles had taken place in various places, with British help diplomatic activity led to the Linggajati Agreement. However, in the implementation of the agreement, new conflicts emerged. The most basic conflict was in connection with the Dutch demand that joint Indonesian-Dutch troops be established with the name of "joint gendarmerie," which would see to the security of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. We rejected the demand, because the existence of such jointly-manned formations would mean nibbling away at the position of the TNI and of other security formations of the Republic of Indonesia.

For that reason no agreement was reached, and the Dutch undertook an offensive on 21 July 1947. The Dutch troops occupied the large cities, but it was evident that the opposition led by the TNI outside the large cities, together with the administrative personnel, the young guerrillas, and the people in general, could not be overcome by the Dutch. In the battle areas the TNI obtained experience in leading a people's war, which meant providing leadership to the entire life of the government and the people engaged in the struggle.

With the help of the Three-Party Commission (KTN) of the United Nations, a new agreement was reached, called the Renville Agreement. We made military concessions by withdrawing our forces from areas of the people's war, with the calculation that we would obtain political benefit in the form of a KTN guarantee that there soon would be a political solution in accordance with the wishes of the people. It was evident that in the political discussions the Dutch would advance demands which, among other things, would mean the dissolution of the TNI. Such demands we rejected, of course, because in our view the forces which had to be dissolved were precisely those formed by the Dutch, such as the KNIL [Royal Netherlands Indies Army], while the TNI had to become the core of the formation of armed forces for the state which would cover all of Indonesia.

Since no agreement was reached, the Dutch launched a second offensive on 19 December 1948. Before the Dutch attack we suffered a stab in the back in the form of the PKI rebellion in September, 1948. What happened during the second Dutch attack had a major influence on the development of the place and role of the TNI subsequently in our country. The president and a number of members of the government were captured by the Dutch. When the Dutch calculated that, for that reason, the opposition by the Republic of Indonesia would come to an end, they made a miscalculation which was very disadvantageous for them. An emergency government was formed in Sumatra, and on all sides a people's war was launched under the leadership of the TNI. In the people's war, of course, the position of the TNI became increasingly strong and increasingly rooted in the people, because in such circumstances the only networks of organization and communications which could function were in the armed forces. Political party activity practically came to a halt. In directing the people's war the TNI gained experience in handling political, social, economic, and government questions, down to the village level, along with its military tasks. In the areas which had previously been abandoned by the Republic of Indonesia, the republican forces were again present in the form of the TNI, so that the TNI was more or less identified with the republic. It can be noted that in West Java the TNI had to confront the Darul Islam (DI) at the same time it confronted the Dutch.

Diplomatic activity which used the results of the people's war and international pressure resulted in the Roem-Van Royen agreement. Although at first there were different attitudes within the TNI, finally the TNI supported the implementation of the agreement, which had the blessing of Soekarno and Hatta. At the same time the TNI was preparing a "second line" to meet the possibility of a failure in the discussions. The Round Table Conference (KMB) resulted in the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty by the Dutch and the withdrawal of Dutch troops and dissolution of the KNIL. Although what was recognized by the Dutch was the United States of Indonesia [Republik Indonesia Serikat] and not the Republic of Indonesia directly, and although the West Irian question was still left unresolved, nevertheless with the KMB agreements basically our conflict with the Dutch, which began with the proclamation of independence, over sovereignty concerning Indonesia had been resolved with a victory for our side.

With the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty the question had to be faced regarding the place and role of the TNI subsequently in our country. In this connection

it was realized on the one hand that the TNI was a very valuable form of capital for the future life of the state and nation. The TNI was the only national organization which had experienced continuous development and growth during the struggle to defend our independence and which, in intact form, entered the new era after the recognition of our sovereignty. During the period of the people's war the TNI, as it were, underwent a "tempering" experience which brought it to adult status, not only in terms of its defense function but also in handling political, social, economic, and government questions among the people engaged in the struggle. On the other hand it was realized that revolution and war, and especially people's war, always bring out the danger that the members of the armed forces, born in the revolution and the period of the people's war, would become a source of instability in the life of the state and nation involved. The experience of the Spanish nation after the guerrilla war it undertook against Napoleon, the experience of the countries of Latin America after their independence war and revolution, and also the experience of the Kuomintang army in mainland China were reminders to us that such experiences should not be repeated in Indonesia.

For that reason in the years after the recognition of sovereignty a process of consolidation was needed in political life, along with consolidation in the TNI. On the one hand it was hoped that the political parties would continue to consolidate themselves and form a stable government, with the result that in time the wounds suffered in war and revolution would heal. On the other hand it was hoped that the armed forces, which had been expanded during the war and revolution, would undergo reorganization, training, and re-training, while maintaining and developing their spirit and experience from the period of war and revolution, with the result that subsequently the armed forces would not become a source of instability but rather would specifically be an important factor in protecting stability and encouraging progress in our country and society. At the time relations between the political leadership and the TNI would more or less regarded from the point of view of the Western European "model," that is that, on the one hand, civilian supremacy would be recognized, while on the other hand the development of the TNI, in accordance with healthy military and national foundations, would not be disturbed by political intervention.

If the two parallel and mutually influencing plans had developed smoothly, our situation would have been completely different from the present situation. Of the two plans referred to, it can be said that the plan for the reorganization and consolidation of the TNI basically went forward in rather satisfactory fashion, although many difficulties and obstacles were encountered. On the other hand the plan for consolidation of political life did not go forward as hoped. Not long after the recognition of our sovereignty, the beginnings of conflict began to be felt regarding the foundations of the state, that is, whether it should remain based on the Pancasila or not. At the time the TNI was still involved in operations against the Darul Islam. It was under those circumstances that the Saptamarga [Seven Pledges] movement was born as a declaration that the TNI could not be neutral on the question whether we would have a state based on the Pancasila or not. With the birth of the Saptamarga the TNI declared itself in firm and definitive form as a supporter and defender of the Pancasila which would not acknowledge defeat.

Another important development was what was called the 17 October 1952 affair. The essential question involved was what was seen by the leadership of the armed forces at that time as intervention by the political world of a character tending to weak-

en and indeed to destroy the foundations for the development of the TNI in accordance with healthy military principles. In those circumstances the leadership of the armed forces was faced with a dilemma. On the one hand they were determined not to intervene in politics, for example by a coup d'etat, because they did not want to create a precedent which certainly would be followed by an endless series of coups d'etat, as had occurred in the history of the Latin American countries. On the other hand they also could not merely sit with their hands in their laps. It was in these circumstances that several steps were taken which amounted to an appeal to the national leadership to undertake a process of cleansing the political life of the country by accelerating the holding of general elections. Although the 17 October affair provoked military and political conflict and tensions which lasted for a rather long time, finally general elections were held. However, the general elections did not result in the longed-for political stability. On the contrary, they specifically stimulated serious questions related to the incapacity of the political system, and especially of the Constituent Assembly, to reach agreement on the foundations of the state. Apart from that, there was also wide-ranging, armed conflict in several areas of the country.

In those circumstances a presidential decree in 1959 to return to the Constitution of 1945 created a new political situation, in which the influence of the political parties declined, while the political role of the TNI became increasingly important. It can be noted that since the middle of the 1950's there had begun a process of re-thinking in TNI ranks regarding the place and role of the TNI in the Pancasila state, after it was realized that, whether the TNI wished it or not, the TNI was being pushed to play a broader role than what had originally been hoped. The process of re-thinking began after the conflict over the foundations of the state and political instability appeared to be increasing steadily. In this re-thinking the essential question was how the TNI could provide support and help to raise the level of stability and progress in the community and nation and to help defend the foundations of the state without leading to the danger of having the experience of the Latin American countries repeated in Indonesia. It was in that spirit that the expansion in the role of the TNI took place after the decree to return to the Constitution of 1945. The expansion of the role of the TNI, among other things, was needed to deal with the expansion in the influence of the PKI, which clearly could not be checked by the other political parties.

It appears that the PKI had come to the conclusion that the major obstacle in the implementation of its plan to take control of Indonesia was the TNI. In the 30 September 1965/PKI incident it was the TNI leadership which was the first objective, apparently with the intention of immediately appointing a new leadership by undertaking a purge in the ranks of the TNI and in this manner clearing the way for the PKI to take power in Indonesia. In this connection the PKI made a serious miscalculation similar to the miscalculation of the Dutch on 19 December 1948. In 1948 the Dutch thought that, by capturing the state leaders, the opposition of the TNI and of the people would end. In 1965 the PKI thought that by killing the top leadership of the TNI the opposition of the TNI and the people could be overcome. What happened was that not long after the 30 September 1965/PKI affair occurred the initiative fell into the hands of the TNI and the people. It was in that way that the process of change began which took us into the New Order, which is an era of development. We see that other major revolutions also require some decades full of upheaval before they can begin the process of development. In this case the course of the Indonesian revolution was no different from the experience of revolutions in general.

When we entered the development era, it was clear that the process of political consolidation, which we had hoped would unfold after the recognition of sovereignty in 1949, had not provided the results hoped for initially. Since 1949 the political parties did not go through a process of consolidation, growth, and development in a continuous fashion. What happened was precisely the reverse of what had been hoped for. Meanwhile, during the same period the TNI, although encountering many difficulties and obstacles, experienced continuous growth and development. In such circumstances the New Order gave the TNI the task of acting as a source of stability and dynamism, so that the process of development might immediately begin, without waiting for a prior consolidation in all aspects of political life. What was hoped for was precisely that political development would become one important sector in the field of development in general. Therefore, the renewal of the political structure which, it was hoped, would provide a strong and healthy foundation for the New Order. It was on this basis that the TNI carried out its role in the developing Pancasila state and which now is carrying out its third five-year plan.

Future Prospects

When we speak of future prospects in connection with the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state, the first thing we must discuss is the prospects for the developing Pancasila state itself, because the TNI has no future prospects separate from the prospects of the Pancasila state. In the framework of the future of the Pancasila state which seeks to develop an Indonesian society which is modern, just, progressive, and continuing, based on the Pancasila, we ask what should the TNI role be, so that this role is a positive and creative factor and never becomes a negative factor in the framework of the efforts of our nation to achieve its development goals.

Regarding the prospects of the developing Pancasila state, at the beginning of this article we set out in a manner intended to provoke thought three possibilities or tracks, namely: 1) we would fail in our development, as has happened in Latin America, with the Kuomintang, and recently in Iran; 2) we would achieve success in economic and industrial development but fail in the development of democratic, political life, with the result that we would become a developed country which is fascist and militaristic, like Japan in the past; 3) we would progress in development, bringing together stability and growth through experiencing all of the principles of the Pancasila.

Our objective, certainly, is the third track, and in this connection the question which we face, in connection with the prospects for the role of the TNI in the Pancasila state, is how can the role of the TNI be developed so that it will participate in stimulating progress along the third track and join in preventing us from entering on the first or second track. We deliberately say, "participate in stimulating" and "join in preventing" because the role of the TNI, both in the past and in the future is a role which stands beside the role of other components in our life as a state and nation.

In projecting the prospective role of the TNI in the future in our developing Pancasila state we can develop approaches which are negative and positive in character. The negative approach asks how to reduce and at some point to end the role of the TNI outside the technical, military sphere. It is that approach which generally is adopted in other countries. We see, for example, in many Latin American countries

that military and civilian governments replace each other. Whenever the danger of anarchy and so forth is encountered, military governments emerge, and during the period in office of such military governments a negative approach develops in the sense of efforts to have the military government replaced by a civilian government as quickly as possible. However, because of basic weaknesses in the respective society which still are not resolved, each time another crisis comes along, giving rise to a military government which is later replaced by a civilian government, in an endless series of exchanges of military and civilian governments. The positive approach asks how the role of the TNI can be made useful, alongside the roles of other social and political forces, so that in a planned and phased manner the TNI could join in resolving the basic weaknesses found in our life as a nation and state, especially in the political arena. The existence of such weaknesses has been noted in our history since 1945 and especially since the recognition of sovereignty in 1949. Overcoming these weaknesses means achieving development in the field of our political life. As we have seen, it is these weaknesses in our political life which have invited and stimulated a broader role for the TNI as an element of stability and dynamism. By achieving progress in political development in a planned and phased manner, the extent of the role of the TNI can also be reduced in a planned and phased way.

We must continue to be vigilant toward the negative possibilities which we have sketched out above in terms of the first and second tracks. We also must continue to be vigilant against any threat to the Pancasila. However, most important for us is concentrating our thoughts and efforts in a positive way so that together we can progress along the third track mentioned above. The role of the TNI, to join in stimulating progress along the third track and to join in preventing our country from entering on the first or second track, cannot be viewed in isolation from the role of other social and political forces, such as the political parties, the functional groups, and also religious groups, students, the younger generation as a whole, and so forth. The important thing in this connection is that the respective groups, including the TNI, should see their role as not being distinct from the common task that the respective groups, including the TNI, should reflect on the direction, contents, and limits for their role, as well as the close relationship between their role and the role of other social and political forces. The common task means the experiencing of all principles of the Pancasila through planning and carrying out development which, in itself, involves applying the principle of democracy, illuminated by wisdom in representative discussions. This means that there is a common task to develop democratic, political life. The picture of democratic, political development in the framework of experiencing all principles of the Pancasila is something which we must still jointly make clear. In this connection we prefer to speak of "democracy in the Pancasila state," rather than "the democracy of the Pancasila." The common task referred to above means applying the principle of joint consideration and the division of tasks in its implementation. We should not confuse the role of the TNI with our common task of developing democratic, political life. We should specifically look on the role of the TNI as a positive factor, alongside the roles of other social and political forces. As was the case before, during the struggle to defend our independence and in the struggle to bring in the New Order and the development era, so also is the work of applying all of the principles of the Pancasila through planning and implementation of development, which involves the development of democratic, political life. We see this obligation to cooperate closely in the framework of a joint objective, between the TNI and other social and political forces, in our country.

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NEPALESE LEADER URGES GENERAL ELECTION BOYCOTT

OW102121 Paris AFP in English 2002 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Katmandu, 10 Apr (AFP)--Deposed premier and leader of the outlawed Nepali Congress, B. P. Koirala, has called on the Nepalese people to boycott coming general elections, while at the same time refraining from "extremism."

Nepal is to hold general elections on May 9 on the basis of adult franchise for the first time in the 20 years the non-party Panchyat system has been in force.

Some eight million adults are enfranchised although (?no) major outlawed political parties, including the pro-Beijing Nepal Communist Party and the Nepali Congress Party, are boycotting it.

Although contradictions exist between the crown and democratic forces in Nepal, the two bodies were complementary, Mr. Koirala said, shortly before his departure for New York for medical treatment.

Mr. Koirala has called for scrapping of conditions laid down in the newly-amended constitution obliging candidates to acquire membership in one of six organisations by paying a fee of five rupees.

"After extensive consultations we were forced to boycott the forthcoming general election to be held on May 9 under this constitutional amendment," he said.

"It shall be our continuous effort to end this unfortunate situation without abandoning democratic ideals," he added.

"The extremism of either the left or the right is a hurdle to the democratic development of the country, and I will not associate myself with any of the extremists because they are forces opposed to us," he said.

CSO: 4220

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

EEC AID--The European Economic Community is to double and even triple its aid to Pakistan for 1981 as compared to 1980. This was stated by the EEC delegation leader at a news conference in Islamabad on 29 March. He said during the last 5 years EEC participated in a number of projects in Pakistan and provided \$7 million a year and for this year, they are discussing with the Pakistan government projects for which the EEC will provide aid. He said that Pakistan's exports to EEC increased by 28 percent in 1979 and 25 percent in 1980. As compared to this, EEC's exports to Pakistan registered an increase of 12.5 percent in 1980. He said that EEC has given a \$12 million special aid and \$8 million food aid for Afghan refugees and will continue to provide assistance for these refugees this year. [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 29 Mar 81 BK]

CSO: 4220

SRI LANKA

BRIEFS

GEM EXPORTS--Gems worth 660 million rupees were exported in 1980. The estimated target for gem exports in 1981 is 750 million rupees. This was disclosed by the chairman of the State Gem Corporation at a news conference on 9 April. [BK140439 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 10 Apr 81]

SAUDI OIL--A 170,000-ton crude oil contract finalized on a government to government basis in Saudi Arabia last week has assured the continuity of Sri Lanka's oil requirements for the current year, according to the Daham Wimalasena, chairman of the Ceylon Petroelum Corporation [CPC]. The contract was signed by Saudi Oil Minister Shaykh Ahmad Zaki Yamani on behalf of the Saudi Government and Wimalasena on behalf of Sri Lanka. The CPC chairman said that Sri Lanka and Iraq had an agreement under which this country was to receive 360,000 tons of Iraqi crude with deliveries commencing in January this year. But the war between Iraq and Iran created problems of supply from Iraq. Transport Minister M.H. Mohammad interceded with the Saudi Government on Sri Lanka's behalf and Wimalasena flew to Saudi Arabia to finalize the deal. Iran is supplying to Sri Lanka 720,000 tons of crude this year while total supplies from Saudi Arabia will be 1.3 million tons, including the 170,000 now negotiated. This has been the first government to government oil supply contract between Sri Lanka and Saudi Arabia. Sri Lanka's oil bill for the year will be in the region of 12 billion rupees, according to the CPC. [BK121122 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 12 Apr 81]

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